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This Is Not Dixie: Racist Violence in Kansas, 1861-1927

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Brown's family, as Horatio Rust did. That is the captivating focus of William Deverell's "After Antietam." With a distractingly breezy style, Virginia Scharff considers how a Scottish-born Mormon immigrant and the highly contested Wyoming Territory both became American after the Civil War. And, in a fitting conclusion to the collection, Jennifer Denetdale's "You Brought History Alive for Us" reflects on the historical impact of colonialism in silencing the lives and recasting the identities of nineteenth-century Navajo women. Of particular interest is the author's description of the process of recovering stories about their community leadership.

Empire and Liberty is a suggestive volume that only hints at the regional complexity of the American West. Yet we also see the region's many connections to the nation as a whole. As a result, the Civil War and Reconstruction era offers a compelling circumstance to rethink the traditional boundaries of the period's historiography.

This Is Not Dixie: Racist Violence in Kansas, 1861–1927, by Brent M. S. Campney. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2015. x, 281 pp. Maps, appendixes, notes, bibliography, index. \$50.00 hardcover.

Reviewer Kristen Tegtmeier Oertel is Mary Frances Barnard Professor in Nineteenth-Century American History at the University of Tulsa. She is the author of *Bleeding Borders: Gender, Race and Violence in Pre-Civil War Kansas* (2008).

Most northerners pride themselves for standing on the "right" side of history when it comes to racism in the nineteenth century; they point to their distant relatives who fought in the Union army or the lack of de jure school segregation in their states as proof that their communities frowned upon the kind of systemic racism that plagued the Deep South after the Civil War. Kansans, in particular, laud their Free State past and lift up mythical figures like John Brown to privilege a narrative that claims Kansas as a racial utopia, the "Land of Canaan" where African Americans settled after fleeing racial violence in the South. With Brent Campney's ironically titled *This Is Not Dixie*, no Kansan, indeed no mid-westerner, will ever be able to discount the unfortunate likelihood that racial violence has characterized the black experience throughout the country. In fact, Campney argues, "Racism was indisputably 'an inherent part of the state's ideological and political founding,'" and he claims that white Kansans "utilized racist violence and other means to establish a legacy of white supremacy that cast a long shadow" on the state's history (212, 213).

Campney uses a "capacious model of racist violence" that includes "sensational violence" like lynching and riots but also considers "threat-

ened violence," when lynch mobs pursued their subject but never succeeded, and "routine violence" like assault, property damage, and rape (1–6). Campney combed through hundreds of newspapers from the era, and what he found is disturbing: between 1861 and 1927, 52 African Americans were lynched by whites in Kansas, and at least 17 more were killed by police; between roughly 1890 and 1913, whites planned and threatened 78 lynchings; and almost 30 race riots peppered the state's history and occurred almost everywhere blacks lived, from tiny towns like Larned to larger cities like Leavenworth (202–4).

Perhaps the most devastating evidence Campney provides comes from the gory details of some of those lynchings, like the 1901 "Leavenworth burning." Fred Alexander had been arrested for assaulting a white woman, but before he could be tried for the alleged crime, a mob broke into the local jail and tied him to a stake, covering him in coal oil and lighting him on fire. According to the *New York Times*, "Probably 8,000 people witnessed the burning," after which "there was a wild scramble to obtain relics. Bits of charred flesh, pieces of chain, scraps of wood—everything that could possibly serve as a souvenir—was seized" (90). Like the photography exhibit and website *Without Sanctuary*, which features chilling photographs of white crowds who attended lynchings as spectacle and entertainment, Campney's study reminds modern readers that racial violence infused American culture.

Yet Campney also provides inspiring examples of African American resistance to such violence, most impressively in the form of jailhouse defenses. For the period between 1890 and 1916, Campney found 22 instances of armed black men standing guard at local and county jails protecting black suspects, in addition to blacks ignoring white orders to disperse, black families hiding accused offenders, and blacks refusing to reveal information to white authorities (204). Such sustained resistance demonstrates that "blacks fought an unbroken struggle for their rights throughout the study period, and they did so vigorously and courageously despite daunting odds" (205).

For all of its strengths, Campney's study overlooks some important scholarly precedents. Previous scholarship firmly establishes the foundation of racism in Kansas Territory and includes whites' racist beliefs about Native Americans in that development, a piece of the historical puzzle that Campney ignores. During his study period, Indians were forcefully removed from their homes in Kansas to other locations in the state and to Indian Territory. Whites certainly did not reserve their racial venom for blacks, and one wonders how capacious Campney's model of racial violence is when it does not include Indians and also Latinos, who were populating the Santa Fe Trail (and railroad) in the

late nineteenth century and working at Kansas City's packinghouses in the early twentieth century. Despite these oversights, Campney's book is an important corrective to the still prevailing belief that racial violence was a uniquely southern problem.

Red Cloud: Oglala Legend, by John D. McDermott. South Dakota Biography Series. Pierre: South Dakota Historical Society Press, 2015. xv, 194 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$14.95 paperback.

Reviewer Denny Smith is associate professor of history and director of Native American Studies at the University of Nebraska at Omaha. His research and writing have focused on Plains Indians.

With three major scholarly biographies of Oglala Lakota war and civil chief Red Cloud already published by 1997, the South Dakota Historical Society Press nonetheless has wisely selected Red Cloud as the fourth person in their state biography series. Equally thoughtfully they invited distinguished frontier and "Indian wars" historian John D. McDermott to write it.

Red Cloud was a towering figure as war chief, but after 1868, when he dedicated himself to reservation life, he became a polarizing tribal leader, both within Lakota circles and in Lakota-federal Indian policy affairs. McDermott safely navigates these turbulent waters to focus mainly on Red Cloud's story.

In the first two chapters on Red Cloud's early years, McDermott presents unique insights. Using interviews with Red Cloud late in his life by historians Doane Robinson and R. Eli Paul, McDermott presents rare details such as Red Cloud's extensive war honors and his special affinity with horses.

In chapters 4–6 McDermott recounts the well-known 1865–1868 Lakota–U.S. Army wars in the Powder River region. He knows this story well, having written two fine studies on this period: *Circle of Fire* (2003) and *Red Cloud's War* (2010).

Red Cloud's formative years at the newly established Red Cloud Agencies were based primarily in neighboring Nebraska. After forcing the U.S. Army to abandon Forts Reno, Phil Kearny, and C. F. Smith in the summer of 1868, Red Cloud traveled to Fort Laramie and signed the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty.

In chapters 7–9 McDermott addresses the turbulent 1869–1877 years as Red Cloud battled the Indian Affairs Office over the negligent treatment of Oglalas at two different Red Cloud Agencies. The author emphasizes that these agencies were in fact situated in western Nebraska. Red Cloud refused to relocate to the Great Sioux Reservation (in present